

## Message Text

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ACTION OES-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 AID-05 CEQ-01 CIAE-00

SOE-02 COME-00 DODE-00 EB-08 EPA-01 INR-10 L-03

NSF-01 NSC-05 NSAE-00 PM-05 USIA-06 SS-15 SP-02

DOE-11 INT-05 DOEE-00 SSO-00 CA-01 HA-05 BIB-01

OIC-02 ACDA-12 CEA-01 STR-07 TRSE-00 /142 W

-----103589 031458Z /42

P 031314Z MAR 78

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6721

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

INFO ALL EC CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 03349

BELGRADE FOR CSCE

USEEC

USOECD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, EEC, ECE, SENV, XH

SUBJECT: CSCE: POSSIBLE HIGH-LEVEL ENVIRONMENT MEETING:

CONSULTATIONS WITH EC-NINE

REF: (A) GENEVA 3334; (B) BRUSSELS 3817

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1. AS WAS EVIDENT AT SEPTEMBER CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF THE ECE SENIOR ADVISERS ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS (SAEP), ONE PROBLEM US WILL FACE AS WE PREPARE FOR DISCUSSIONS ON POSSIBLE HIGH-LEVEL ENVIRONMENT MEETING (HLM) AT APRIL ECE PLENARY WILL BE COORDINATION WITH EC-NINE CAUCUS IN GENEVA. NOW THAT DISCUSSION OF HLM IS MORE CLEARLY FOCUSSED IN ECE, AND GIVEN CURRENT

POLITICAL/TECHNICAL MIX OF FACTORS INVOLVED, CHANCES FOR ARRIVING AT MEANINGFUL CONSENSUS WITH NATO IS UNLIKELY. NOT ONLY ARE THE NINE THEMSELVES DIVIDED, BUT NORWEGIANS AND TURKS HAVE OWN, SEPARATE INTERESTS, AND ACCEPTED CAUCUS AT ECE IS WEST (INCLUDING NNA'S) WITH SMALLER EC GROUP HOLDING OWN MEETING. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO CONSULT SEPARATELY WITH THE NINE, WITH NORWAY AND SWEDEN, TURKEY AND CANADA, ALTHOUGH CANADA'S VIEWS ALREADY PARALLEL THOSE OF US.

2. REF A OUTLINES CURRENT EC-NINE MEMBER COUNTRY POSITIONS AS WE KNOW THEM. WE ARE NOT SURE ABOUT COMMISSION ITSELF, BUT WOULD IMAGINE THAT ENVIRONMENT SIDE (ZITO) WOULD NOT OBJECT TO MEETING, EVEN IF KAWAN, AS REPORTED BY USEC, MIGHT LIKE TO UNDERCUT ANY POSSIBLE HIGH-LEVEL MEETING.

3. WE MUST ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPING EC VIEWS AT EVERY STAGE, RATHER THAN FACE FAMILIAR SITUATION OF BEING HANDED EC FAIT ACCOMPLI FIVE MINUTES PRIOR TO OPENING OF FORMAL MEETINGS HERE IN GENEVA. USDEL TO SAEP HAS PROMISED "NON-PAPER" OUTLINING OUR THOUGHTS TO BOTH COMMISSION AND DANES, PRIOR TO MARCH 13 COREPS MEETING. USDEL OFFICER TOLD ZITO THAT USEC WOULD PRESENT PAPER TO BOTH KAWAN AND ZITO, AND INFORMED DANISH REP (WHO HAS BEEN MOST HELPFUL IN PROMISING TO CONSULT) THAT EMBASSY CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD ALSO PRESENT COPY IN COPENHAGEN.

4. DRAFT GIVEN BELOW IS OF COURSE SUBJECT TO APPROVAL IN DEPARTMENT. FOLLOWING RESPONSIBLE WASHINGTON OFFICERS DRAFTED OR CLEARED: DAMERON (EUR), SPIELMAN AND GRANT (OES), COTSWORTH (EPA). QUOTE: ALTHOUGH HIGH-LEVEL MEETING ON THE ENVIRONMENT (AS PROPOSED TWO YEARS AGO BY BREZHNEV) IS PERHAPS NOT ESSENTIAL TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ANY SUBJECT RIPE FOR IMPORTANT DECISIONS, IT COULD BE USEFUL IN MAINTAINING THE IMAGE OF THE WEST AS SEEKING TRUE COOPERATION WHERE POSSIBLE, AND AS WILLING TO PROMOTE USEFUL DIALOGUE WITH THE EAST WHERE OUR INTERESTS OVERLAP. WE LOOK FORWARD TO ANY STEPS WHICH MIGHT SPEED AGREEMENT ON MEASURES THAT COULD IMPROVE OUR GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. UNQUOTE

5. QUOTE: THE LACK OF A SUBSTANTIVE COMMUNIQUE AT BELGRADE CANNOT BUT AFFECT THE ATTITUDE IN THE WEST CONCERNING THE HOLDING OF A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING, BUT WE DO NOT PROPOSE THAT THAT LACK SHOULD AUTOMATICALLY PREJUDGE WHETHER OR NOT TO HOLD SUCH A MEETING. UNQUOTE

6. QUOTE: SOME COUNTRIES IN THE ECE ARE SEEKING A MEETING WITH LITTLE OR NO SUBSTANCE, AS A SIGN THAT THE CSCE PROCESS HAS RESULTED IN USEFUL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. BY INSISTING ON STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE CRITERIA OF ECE DECISION 1 (XXXII) THE WEST CAN, USING ALREADY ACCEPTED GUIDELINES, MINIMIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUCH MISUSE OF ANY HIGH-LEVEL MEETING. UNQUOTE

7. QUOTE: WESTERN INSISTENCE ON THE FOLLOWING MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR ANY CONFERENCE WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE, IN ADDITION TO THE GENERAL GUIDELINES SET FORTH IN DECISION 1 (XXXII):

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-----103632 031458Z /42

P 031314Z MAR 78

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6722

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

INFO ALL EC CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 03349

BELGRADE FOR CSCS

USEEC

USOECD

-- TO MINIMIZE THE POSSIBILITY OF INFLATING THE COSMETIC  
VALUE OF A MEETING, AND FOR BUDGETARY REASONS, IT SHOULD  
BE HELD IN GENEVA;

--THOROUGH PREPARATIONS WILL PROBABLY REQUIRE A MINIMUM  
OF EIGHTEEN MONTHS;  
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-- PROVISION MUST BE MADE FOR FINAL REVIEW AT THE  
THIRTY-FOURTH ECE COMMISSION PLENARY OF ANY DECISION TO  
HOLD A MEETING, TO INSURE THAT PREPARATIONS HAVE INDEED  
REACHED THE LEVEL WHERE A MEETING WOULD HOLD THE "PROMISE  
OF IMPORTANT DECISIONS", OF "CONCERN TO THE REGION AS A  
WHOLE";

-- THE SUBJECTS TO BE CONSIDERED FOR ANY MEETING MUST  
BE LIMITED TO THOSE STRICTLY MEETING THE CRITERIA;

-- ANY HIGH-LEVEL MEETING MUST BE IN ONE STAGE, AS THE  
CLIMAX OF THE PREPARATORY WORK;

-- THE SENIOR ADVISERS ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS SHOULD BE  
CHARGED WITH PREPARING FOR THE CONFERENCE. UNQUOTE

8. QUOTE: THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOME COUNTRIES  
WILL ATTEMPT TO PLACE SEVERAL TOPICS ON THE AGENDA  
WITHOUT REGARD FOR MEETING THE CRITERIA, THUS PROVIDING  
AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLAIM SUCCESS IN MANY AREAS BUT IN  
REALITY DIVERTING ATTENTION AND REDUCING THE POSSIBILITY  
FOR MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS IN ANY ONE FIELD. THIS TACTIC  
SHOULD BE COUNTERED BY INSISTING ON FOLLOWING THE  
ESTABLISHED CRITERIA. UNQUOTE

9. QUOTE: IT APPEARS THAT TRANSBOUNDARY AIR POLLUTION  
AS A TOPIC HAS WIDE SUPPORT, AND THAT A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING  
ON THIS SUBJECT COULD RESULT IN SIGNIFICANT DECISIONS TO  
IMPROVE THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. ALTHOUGH OTHER TOPICS DO  
NOT APPEAR TO HOLD AS MUCH PROMISE, THE US RECOGNIZES THAT  
SOME OTHER COUNTRIES WILL WISH TO HAVE ANOTHER ITEM ON  
THE AGENDA. UNQUOTE  
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10. QUOTE: THE US LOOKS FORWARD TO CONSULTING WITH  
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ON THIS SUBJECT IN PREPARATION

FOR THE APRIL ECE PLENARY. UNQUOTE

11. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE ABOVE DRAFT IS SOMEWHAT DISINGENUOUS. IT IS ACTUALLY THE COMMUNITY, AS MUCH AS THE SOVIETS AT THIS POINT, WHO MIGHT WISH TO FUZZ THE AGENDA WITH EXTRANEIOUS TOPICS. WE CANNOT INDICATE THAT WE HAVE MUCH FLEXIBILITY TO THE EC-NINE AT THIS STAGE, OR THEY ARE LIKELY ATTEMPT TO FORCE US TO EARLY COMPROMISES, LEAVING US NO ROOM FOR MANEUVER IN APRIL. ALTHOUGH WE MAY BE WILLING TO ADJUST SOME OF THE ABOVE POINTS LATER ON, WE MUST CONVINCE THE COMMUNITY THAT WE ARE SERIOUS IN PURSUING HLM IF, AND ONLY IF, IT WILL LEAD TO A MEANINGFUL DECISION, AND ALSO THAT WE WILL PURSUE THE SUBJECT ALONG THESE LINES WITH ANYONE -- I.E., WE WILL NOT LET THE EC FORCE US ALONE INTO SCUTTLE A MEETING.

12. WASHINGTON COMMENTS ON THE ABOVE DRAFT SHOULD REACH BRUSSELS AND COPENHAGEN FOR PRESENTATION NO LATER THAN THURSDAY, MARCH 9. GRANT (OES) WILL BE IN THE DEPARTMENT MARCH 6, AND DAMERON (EUR/RPE) WILL CALL THE DEPARTMENT TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 7 FROM PARIS FOR ANY FINAL CONSULTATIONS. USEC AND EMBASSY COPENHAGEN SHOULD BE REQUESTED IN PRESENTING THE PAPER TO STRESS ITS CONFIDENTIALITY (ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO GREAT HOPES IT CAN BE KEPT FROM THE SOVIETS ONCE IT IS SO WIDELY DISSEMINATED), AND THAT THE US REGARDS IT AS A FIRST STEP. WE LOOK FORWARD TO ADDITIONAL CONSULTATIONS AFTER THE MARCH 13 COREPS MEETING AND BEFORE THE EC POSITION BECOMES FINAL. SORENSON

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## Message Attributes

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